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DRAFTED BY: INR/AA:REHRENREICH:BR

APPROVED BY: INR/AA:VJFARLEY

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USCICNEUR VAIHINGEN GE//POLAD/
HQ USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ-5/

RELEASED IN PART
1.4(D), 1.4(B)

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 060346

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINR, RW, UG
SUBJECT: INR ANALYSIS - RWANDA: RPF GOALS

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LONDON FOR MCKINLEY, PARIS FOR PERLOW, BRUSSELS FOR
DUBROW, USNATO FOR HAMILTON

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS OF FEBRUARY 25, 1993, IS
PROVIDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND COMMENT, AS
APPROPRIATE.

BEGIN TEXT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E LANDFAIR
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 26 FEB 2013
DATE/CASE ID: 27 APR 2005 200103014

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3. THE ATTACK BY THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) INTO NORTHERN RWANDA, WITH REPORTS OF WIDESPREAD ATROCITIES, INDICATE THE REBELS ARE NOT SERIOUSLY COMMITTED TO POWERSHARING WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. RATHER, THE RPF, CONTROLLED BY ETHNIC TUTSI, SEEKS TO CONTROL THE KIGALI GOVERNMENT AND WANTS TO FORCE HABYARIMANA TO RESIGN.

4. RPF ACTIONS. WHILE THE RPF HAS NOT TAKEN ANY MAJOR
----- TOWNS, IT NOW DOMINATES PERHAPS
ONE-THIRD OF THE COUNTRYSIDE NORTH OF KIGALI AND HOLDS
THE MILITARY INITIATIVE. RPF ATTACKS SINCE FEBRUARY 8
HAVE CONCENTRATED AROUND RUHENGERI AND BYUMBA AND THE
ROADS CONNECTING THESE TOWNS TO THE CAPITAL. [REDACTED]

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

[REDACTED]

NUMEROUS REPORTS THAT RPF FORCES ARE SYSTEMATICALLY
KILLING LARGE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS AND OFFICIALS IN
HABYARIMANA'S NORTHERN POLITICAL STRONGHOLDS COME MAINLY
FROM RWANDAN GOVERNMENT SOURCES AND ALSO HAVE NOT BEEN
CONFIRMED. RPF ATTACKS IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS HAVE
DISPLACED OVER 600,000 CIVILIANS. [REDACTED]

1.4(D)

5. ARUSHA NOT GOOD ENOUGH. CONTRARY TO THEIR INITIAL
----- PUBLIC CLAIMS, THE REBELS
APPEAR TO SEEK MORE THAN REPRISAL FOR LAST MONTH'S
ANTI-TUTSI VIOLENCE. CONSIDERING THE SUSTAINED NATURE
OF THEIR ATTACK AND STATEMENTS BY RPF OFFICIALS THAT
THEY HAD BEEN PLANNING TO STRIKE FOR MONTHS, IT APPEARS
THE RPF WANTS MORE THAN MERE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE AT THE
ARUSHA PEACE TALKS. RATHER THAN POWER SHARING WITH
HABYARIMANA, THE RPF SEEMS BENT ON HIS EARLY
CAPITULATION.

6. IRONICALLY, THE RPF HAD WON MAJOR POLITICAL
CONCESSIONS FROM THE REGIME IN THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL OF

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JANUARY 9 THOUGH HABYARIMANA BALKED AT IMPLEMENTING IT.
BY COOPERATING WITH INTERNAL OPPOSITION PARTIES, THE RPF

HAD ISOLATED HABYARIMANA, HIS REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL
MOVEMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY (MRND) AND THE
EXTREMIST COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION
(CDR) (SEE ANNEX FOR DETAILS). IT WAS NEGOTIATING FOR A
SIGNIFICANT SHARE OF MILITARY POWER (PERHAPS UP TO 50

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PERCENT REPRESENTATION IN THE FAR), FOR A REMOVAL OF
LOCAL OFFICIALS APPOINTED BY HABYARIMANA, AND FOR THE
DEPARTURE OF FRENCH TROOPS. THOUGH THE ARUSHA TALKS HAD
STALLED, CHANCES WERE GOOD THE RPF WOULD HAVE EVENTUALLY
ACHIEVED THESE OBJECTIVES BECAUSE OF THE OPPOSITION
PARTIES' CONTINUED FOCUS ON STRIPPING HABYARIMANA OF HIS
POWERS.

7. THE RPF'S NEXT MOVES. THE RPF APPEARS DETERMINED TO
----- FORCE A SETTLEMENT--OR SERIES
OF SETTLEMENTS--THAT WOULD GIVE IT A DOMINANT ROLE IN
THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SECURITY FORCES AND EXCLUDE
HABYARIMANA, THE MRND AND CDR. IN THE MEANTIME, ANY
TRUCES OR PEACE SETTLEMENTS THE RPF AGREES TO SHOULD BE
SEEN AS TACTICAL MOVES WHICH WOULD BE BROKEN WHEN NO
LONGER USEFUL.

8. AN EARLY RPF ATTACK ON KIGALI IS UNLIKELY AS LONG AS
SOME 500 FRENCH TROOPS PROVIDE A DETERRENT. MOREOVER,
THE RPF LACKS THE ABILITY TO ADMINISTER KIGALI AT THIS
POINT. IF RPF LEADERS MOVE TOO QUICKLY TO BASE
THEMSELVES IN KIGALI, THEY WOULD MAKE THEMSELVES
VULNERABLE TO AN ANTI-TUTSI BACKLASH; MORE THAN 85
PERCENT OF RWANDA'S POPULATION IS HUTU.

9. RPF CALCULATIONS. THE RPF IS PLAYING ON DEEP
----- DIVISIONS BETWEEN HABYARIMANA AND
THE INTERNAL OPPOSITION PARTIES AND MAY HOPE THAT THE
INTERNAL PARTIES DEPOSE HABYARIMANA AND THE MRND. EVEN
THE RENEWED TUTSI ATTACK FAILED TO SWING THE HUTU
OPPOSITION PARTIES BEHIND THE PRESIDENT, AND OPPOSITION

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LEADERS ARE STILL OBSESSED WITH MANEUVERING FOR SHORT-TERM POLITICAL ADVANTAGE AGAINST HIM. THOUGH SOME PARTY LEADERS MAY SLOWLY BE REALIZING THAT THE RPF COULD BE A BIGGER THREAT THAN HABYARIMANA, THEY ARE DISORGANIZED, DIVIDED, FEARFUL AND UNWILLING TO TAKE A CLEAR STAND.

10. THE RPF ALSO CALCULATES THAT THE FRENCH WILL TIRE OF SUPPORTING HABYARIMANA. RPF LEADERS PROBABLY BELIEVE FRANCE WILL NOT LONG SUSTAIN SUPPORT TO A GOVERNMENT UNDER SO MUCH FIRE FOR ITS HUMAN RIGHTS

ABUSES. THE RPF PROBABLY HOPES TO LIMIT FOREIGN INTERVENTION TO PROMOTING AND GIVING INTERNATIONAL BLESSING TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN WHICH THE RPF AGREES TO END THE WAR IN EXCHANGE FOR A DOMINANT ROLE IN THE GOVERNMENT AND SECURITY SERVICES.

11. BLOODY OUTLOOK. WHILE THE RPF'S RECENT ACTIONS
----- DEMONSTRATE ITS MILITARY STRENGTH, THEY ALSO SHOW AN INTRANSIGENCE THAT MAKES HABYARIMANA AND THE MRND FEAR ACCOMMODATION MORE THAN EVER. WITH HIS AUTHORITY ERODED, HABYARIMANA MAY LASH OUT AT THE RPF, THE TUTSIS AND OTHER OPPONENTS. EVEN IF HE REFRAINS, ELEMENTS OF THE MRND, THE CDR, AND OTHER RWANDAN HUTU PROBABLY WILL INTENSIFY REVENGE KILLINGS. FEAR OF AN RPF TAKEOVER COULD EVENTUALLY MOTIVATE SOME ELEMENTS IN THE ANTI-HABYARIMANA INTERNAL OPPOSITION PARTIES TO JOIN IN ATTACKS ON TUTSIS AND THE RPF.

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12. RPF LEADERS ARE WELL-INSULATED FROM SUCH PRESSURES AS LONG AS THEY CONTROL THE MILITARY SITUATION AND STAY AWAY FROM CONCENTRATIONS OF ARMED HUTU. ANTI-TUTSI VIOLENCE MAINLY HURTS CIVILIANS AND GIVES THE RPF AN EXCUSE FOR ITS OWN ATROCITIES. MOREOVER, WITH A SAFEHAVEN AND LOGISTICAL BASE IN UGANDA, THE RPF CAN HOLD OUT INDEFINITELY, DESTABILIZING RWANDA UNTIL KIGALI AGREES TO ITS TERMS. THE SUCCESS OF UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI, WHO SPENT YEARS IN THE BUSH BEFORE TAKING POWER, PROVIDES A POTENT EXAMPLE TO HIS RPF PROTEGES. INDEED, MANY RPF FIGHTERS FOUGHT ALONGSIDE MUSEVENI IN UGANDA'S CIVIL WAR.

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13. GIVEN THE HARD-LINE ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS THAT ALL SIDES HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATING, RWANDA PROBABLY WILL BE GRIPPED BY SPASMS OF INTENSE VIOLENCE UNTIL THE RPF IS APPEASED--AND PROBABLY AFTER.

ANNEX: POWERSHARING, ARUSHA-STYLE

14. ACCORDING TO THE ARUSHA PROTOCOL OF JANUARY 9, PART OF A LARGER PEACE SETTLEMENT WITH THE RPF, THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT WOULD BE REPLACED &Y A NEW REGIME LED BY AN EXECUTIVE CABINET. EACH OF THE CABINET'S 21 MEMBERS PLUS THE PRESIDENT WOULD VOTE ON LEGISLATION, WHICH COULD BE VETOED IF ONE-THIRD OF THEM VOTE AGAINST IT. HABYARMIMANA AND THE MRND OPPOSE THE PROTOCOL BECAUSE IT

WOULD GIVE THE MRND ONLY FIVE SEATS (SIX INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT'S), SHORT OF THE ONE-THIRD NECESSARY TO BLOCK
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LEGISLATION.

15. BY CONTRAST THE RPF AND THE OPPOSITION COALITION WOULD HOLD 16 SEATS--MORE THAN THE TWO-THIRDS NECESSARY TO OVERRIDE THE MRND AND THE PRESIDENT. THE RPF WITH FIVE SEATS, WOULD HAVE A BLOCKING THIRD IF IT COMBINED ITS VOTES WITH THE TUTSI-DOMINATED (AND PRO-RPF) LIBERAL PARTY (LP), WHICH WOULD HAVE THREE SEATS. THE OTHER INTERNAL PARTIES WOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO COMBINE TO WIN A BLOCKING THIRD AS THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT (MDR), WHICH REPRESENTS MAINLY SOUTHERN HUTU, WOULD GET FOUR SEATS, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY THREE. AND THE TINY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY ONE.

16. IF THE PROPOSED INTERIM GOVERNMENT WERE TO BECOME FULLY FUNCTIONAL, SUCH NEAT ALLIANCES MAY WELL BREAK DOWN, ALLOWING THE MRND AND HABYARIMANA TO WIELD MORE INFLUENCE. BECAUSE A SHARED DESIRE TO UNDERCUT HABYARIMANA/MRND POWER IS THE GLUE THAT HOLDS THE OPPOSITION-RPF ALLIANCE TOGETHER, THE PRESIDENT SEEMS TO FEEL THAT HIS OPPONENTS MAY NOT TURN AGAINST ONE ANOTHER UNTIL AFTER THEY HAVE MARGINALIZED HIM. CHRISTOPHER

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